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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the treatment of Asian Americans in a group of selected high school U.S. history textbooks published between 1994 and 1996. Using a content analysis technique, nine of the textbooks most widely used in Hawaii were evaluated in terms of Asian groups represented, events and personalities identified, and multicultural concepts reflected. Textual references to Asian Americans ranged from .56% to 2.1%, while visual references ranged from 1.1% to 3%. The Japanese and Chinese were the most frequently mentioned groups in eight of the nine texts, accounting for 60% to 85% of the references. Asian Americans were depicted as passive rather than active agents in all the texts. And while every text cited how industrious Asian Americans have successfully assimilated into the mainstream culture (the model minority culture), none singled out their recent efforts to organize for greater visibility and voice through such groups as the Asian American Political Alliance and the Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans. Findings revealed variations among textbooks in the thoroughness and specificity of their treatment of Asian Americans. The paper suggests textbook improvements concerning coverage of the Filipino, Korean, and Asian Indian American groups; in-depth analyses of historical events and contemporary issues relating to all Asian Americans; and primary accounts that represent the insider's perspective. Contains a list of history textbooks examined, 35 references, and 7 tables of data. (BT)

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The Treatment of Asian Americans

In U. S. History Textbooks Published 1994-1996

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When the U. S. Congress passed the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, it abolished decades of discriminatory national origins quotas and precipitated a mass migration of people from Third World countries in Asia and Latin America. Min (1995) reports that since 1965 more than 200,000 Asians have been admitted to the United States annually, accounting for about 45 percent of the total immigration to this country. As a result, the Asian American population increased five-fold from 1.5 million in 1970 to about 7.3 million in 1990. Furthermore, statisticians predict that this population will exceed 20 million by 2020 (Ong & Hee, 1993). In short, Asian Americans are growing in sufficient numbers to be an increasingly visible part of the national multicultural mosaic.

How are students in our high schools accessing information about Asian Americans? Although present social studies standards (National Council for the Social Studies 1994) and current emphases in multicultural education (Banks, 1994; Bennett, 1995; Garcia & Pugh, 1992) support a curriculum that promotes multiple perspectives and use of various print, multimedia, and electronic resources, teachers are still using history textbooks as their primary instructional tool in 75 to 90 percent of the classrooms (Tyson & Woodward, 1989). According to Paxton (1999), textbooks are so pervasive in schools that they often constitute an entire curriculum. The fact that textbooks continue to be dominant and powerful learning tools necessitates that educators closely examine the texts used in secondary classrooms.

The purpose of this study was to analyze the treatment of Asian Americans in a group of selected high school American history textbooks published between 1994 and 1996. Using a content analysis technique, the author evaluated nine textbooks in terms of Asian groups represented, events and personalities identified, and multicultural concepts reflected. This paper documents a review of related literature, methodology of the study, and the findings and implications of the investigation.

Review of Related Literature

Over the years, various racial and ethnic organizations, civil rights and special interest groups, and scholars have engaged in content analysis research focusing on a range of ethnic themes and historical events in social studies textbooks. In reviewing the literature, the author focused on previous studies dealing with the treatment of minority groups of color in textbooks and critical surveys of the application of the content analysis technique itself.

Minority Group Treatment in Textbooks

The period from the mid 1960s through 1980s evidenced a surge in content analysis research centered on ethnic bias in classroom texts (Garcia & Tanner, 1985). Much of the work focused on specific ethnic groups, particularly, the African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Of these investigations, African American studies have been the most numerous. In one of the earlier efforts, Banks (1969) used a thematic analysis technique to examine the treatment of African Americans and race relations in thirty-six history textbooks published in 1964 and 1968. He used theme units classified under such categories as deliberate segregation, discrimination, stereotypes, and racial harmony, and found improvement in the more recent texts as evidenced by an increase in references to achievement and acts of discrimination in the texts published in 1968.

A 1985 study by Garcia and Goebel compared texts written between 1956 and 1975 with those written in the 1980s. The investigators reported that coverage of African Americans had increased, but that descriptions remained focused on such issues as slavery, Reconstruction, and the civil rights movement. They concluded that the breadth, but not the depth, of coverage had improved. A more recent investigation by Moore (1996) concentrated on the California State Department of Education's seventh grade textbook adoption choices from 1950 to 1990. She indicated that omissions, distortions, and misrepresentation of facts in the coverage of Africa and African related topics still persisted in the more recent publications.

Other ethnic-specific textbook studies have focused on Native American and Hispanic American treatments in texts. Garcia (1980b) reviewed eight U. S. history textbooks for secondary students published in 1978 and 1979 and found that writers provided readers with limited descriptions of Hispanics. In a similar analysis of Native American treatment in texts, Garcia (1980a) reported that authors used a variety of themes to chronicle the role of Native Americans in U. S. history; however, the treatment itself was uneven. He discovered, for example, that such issues as U. S. land policy and treaty rights were superficially covered and other content (e.g., pre-Columbian experiences) reinforced the stereotype of the noble savage.

In a meta-analysis of ten studies involving texts from kindergarten through college, O'Neill (1987) reported that Native Americans continued to be depicted in "extreme, simplistic, stereotypical roles" (p. 26) and that there was no substantial improvement in their portrayals over twenty years. Hunter reached similar conclusions in her 1995 study of elementary and secondary social studies texts. While she conceded there had been improvement in curtailing overt

stereotyping over the past 10 years, she indicated that subtle negative descriptions remained.

Besides group-specific studies, there have been multiethnic group analyses, which have included Asian Americans. In the 1970s, many of these investigations focused on whether or not people of color were receiving fair and adequate treatment. Kane (1970), who examined forty-five texts in a study sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, concluded that the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of America's past and present prevailed. He indicated that the problems of minority groups were neglected and that the portrayals of Asians were largely negative. The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977), an organization that was notably active and visible in the 1970s, also published criteria for detecting bias and errors in multicultural selections and identified inadequate portrayals of people of color and women in thirteen textbooks.

In the 1980s, the concern shifted to whether publishers, in accommodating various pressure groups, produced works that led to a "balkanization of American history, in which every group might get a proper share, but in which the central story, one in which all groups participate, was simply left aside" (Glazer & Ueda, 1983, p. 2). The investigators identified a complex challenge facing this new interpretation of history:

> The issue is that the new elements of social and ethnic history do not merge easily with the old...general American history, as is true of all national histories for younger students, is treated primarily as a success story...but minorities...that dominate the discussion of racial and ethnic minorities in [today's] history texts, raise more difficult problems of incorporation...Given the elements that make them up, the new histories

cannot inculcate a simple patriotism based on a unitary concept of American nationality and of American interests (pp. 58-59).

This discourse on the politics of the textbook in relation to multicultural literacy continues today. Commeyras and Alvermann (1994) contend that although publishers have made strides toward broader representation of non-European civilizations in history texts, the coverage remains uneven. They also discovered significant differences in treatments among textbooks and suggested that the differences had important implications for planning a multicultural curriculum. According to these writers, students should be encouraged to "challenge textbook interpretations that provide selective views of non-Western cultures" (p. 269).

Content Analysis Technique

The effective employment of content analysis requires well-delineated categories of analysis and measures of reliability, clearly formulated data gathering procedures, and precisely articulated research objectives that can be achieved by analyzing the data gathered during the investigation (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorf, 1980; Weber, 1990).

Although content analysis studies should be objective, systematic, and quantitative, critics have cited many shortcomings in their actual execution. According to Garcia and Goebel (1985), disappointingly few researchers have adequately detailed what constitutes appropriate content and applied some instrument or listed standard procedures for conducting their research. A limited number of studies, for example, have actually surveyed school systems to determine the selection of textbooks for analysis (Siler, 1987).

In a meta-analysis of twenty-five textbook studies, Wade (1993) identified similar weaknesses in defining units of analysis and determining samplings. In addition, investigators needed to objectify their analytic procedures. According

to Siler, "very few studies presented any validity and reliability measures [and the] criteria used to compare textbooks were imprecisely defined" (p. 96). The subjective narrative from historians or the historical knowledge of the authors was used as the basis for comparison in much of the literature. Although theoreticians have laid out at least three forms of establishing credibility--triangulation, rechecking data with sources, and interobserver reliability--many researchers have paid little attention to the internal quality of data (Potter, 1996).

Objectives of the Study

The aim of the present study was to analyze the treatment of Asian Americans in a selected sample of U. S. history textbooks for high school students. Specific objectives were to:

1. quantify and compare the spatial coverage of various Asian American groups in terms of both textual references and graphical/pictorial representations.
2. identify and quantify frequency of textual references to historical events involving Asians in the U. S.
3. identify and quantify frequency of textual references to Asian American personalities.
4. identify and quantify textual references to multicultural concepts relating to Asian Americans.
5. determine whether or not the overall text treatment depicted Asian Americans as passive objects of discrimination or as active agents of self-improvement and achievement.

Methodology

Sample

The selection was based on a 1995 survey conducted by the Hawaii Department of Education to identify the high school textbooks most widely used

in U. S. history courses in the state's public schools. Table 1 (Appendix A) identifies the nine texts, their publication dates, and publishers.

Procedure

Recording unit and categories. The sentence was used as the recording unit for this study. For the first objective--to quantify and compare the spatial coverage of various Asian American groups--the following Asian groupings were used: Asian Indian (including Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani), Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and Indochinese (including Vietnamese, Laotian, Hmong, and Cambodian). The investigator included an additional category, Asian, to account for text and pictorial references that reflected the more inclusive term.

The second objective--to identify and quantify textual references to historical events involving Asians in the U. S.--was accomplished by tallying frequencies and recording the events mentioned in spaces provided for documentation on the coding instrument. A similar procedure was used for the third objective--to identify and tabulate references to Asian American personalities. Chronologies for high school and adult audiences by Takaki (1996) and Baron and Gall (1996), that provided extensive coverage of Asian American events and personalities were used as external sources to evaluate textbook coverage.

For the fourth objective--to determine textual references to multicultural concepts--the investigator selected ten concepts proposed by Banks (1991) as critical in developing a multicultural curriculum. His framework was selected because of Banks' widely acknowledged scholarship in multicultural education. He defines a multicultural curriculum as one that:

helps students to master higher levels of knowledge so that they can better understand race and ethnic relations and develop the skills and abilities needed to make reflective personal and public decisions. (p. 57)

The following ten concepts from Banks' *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (1991) were addressed in the present study:

- Acculturation--exchange of cultural elements and complexes by two different ethnic groups, evidence of cultural traits that dominant groups have acquired from ethnic minorities including both material elements (foods, fashions) as well as nonmaterial traits (values, norms). Acculturation is also related to ethnic diversity, which is an understanding that there are many different ethnic cultures in society and that these differences are not likely to vanish.
- Assimilation--process by which an individual or group acquires the behavior patterns, life-styles, values, and language of the mainstream culture.
- Communication--refers to intercultural communication when a message producer is a member of one culture and the message receiver belongs to another. Successful communication occurs when both the sender and receiver of the symbols interpret them in a similar way. Communication is unsuccessful when the sender and receiver of the symbols interpret them differently.
- Culture--behavior patterns, life-styles, symbols, and institutions that characterize a particular ethnic or cultural group.
- Ethnocentrism--emphasis on one's own culture as superior to the cultures of other groups. It is reflected in the protests of ethnic groups of color against public policies shaped by dominant (white) groups.

- Movement--includes both immigration (settlement of people in a foreign nation) and migration (movement of individuals and groups within a nation).
- Power--action or behavior of a group or individual to enhance, legitimize, reinforce their ethnic group's power.
- Prejudice/racism--a set of rigid, unfavorable attitudes that is formed toward a particular group in disregard of facts and that results in discriminatory behavior toward the group. Racism is evidenced when a dominant group has the power to enforce laws, institutions, and norms that oppress and dehumanize another group.
- Social protest--movements that have emerged from within ethnic communities to protest social conditions, political policies, economic practices considered to be unjust and unconstitutional.
- Values--elements dealing with culture to which individuals or groups attach high worth including those that influence a group's feelings toward foods, human life, behavior patterns, and attitudes toward people who belong to outgroups.

For the final objective--to determine whether or not the overall text treatments depicted Asian Americans as passive objects of discrimination or as active agents of self improvement and achievement--the investigator and three members of the Hawaii Department of Education's social studies textbook evaluation committee examined the multicultural concepts used in this study. These textbook evaluators were chairs of their respective high school social studies departments as well as teachers with more than ten years of experience. As a team, the evaluators and investigator agreed on the concepts of acculturation, ethnocentrism, power, and social protest as indicative of "active"

treatments and the concepts of prejudice/racism and assimilation as evidence of "passive" portrayals.

Coding instrument and instrument validation. A coding instrument, designed by the investigator, was submitted to a jury validation process. Three social studies teachers from different secondary schools, a library science professor, and a history professor comprised the jury. These teachers, employed by the Hawaii Department of Education, had an average of twelve years' experience in teaching American history. The library science professor was a specialist in instructional resources for children and young adults; and the history professor had published articles and books in both American and world history. The panel suggested several revisions to the coding instrument, which were incorporated in its final design.

Coders and coding procedure. Three graduate students, who were working on their master's degrees in library science at the University of Hawaii, assisted with the coding. The investigator conducted four training sessions each lasting about three hours over an eight-week period in Fall 1996. At the end of two months, the discussions ceased to uncover any changes that the team felt were important to the coding scheme.

Two coders examined each of the nine textbooks. Coders approached their tasks by first examining the index of each text and noting all headings and page references that dealt with Asian Americans. Those portions of each textbook were carefully read and manually tabulated on worksheets according to the established coding procedure. The data were then entered into a computer spreadsheet program for purposes of statistical analysis. During this data entry process, the investigator conducted crosschecks for accuracy.

Interrater reliability. The reliability of the coding procedure was established by having two coders independently use the coding instrument on

each of the nine textbooks. An interrater agreement of .90 Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was achieved. This compared favorably with percentages reported in other content analysis studies (Banks, 1969; Wade, 1993; Garcia & Tanner, 1985); it was, therefore, concluded that the coding was conducted in a reliable manner.

Findings

Spatial Allotment

Textual references to Asian Americans ranged from .56 percent (*America Past and Present*, Text A) to 2.1 percent (*American Voices*, Text G) of the total texts are summarized in Table 2 (Appendix B). Taking a random sampling of 10 percent of the text and tallying the number of sentences in the sample derived approximation of the number of sentences in a text. The sum was then averaged and multiplied by the number of pages in the text.

The Japanese and Chinese were the most frequently mentioned groups in eight of the nine texts, accounting for 60 percent to 85 percent of the references. The exception was *America: People and Dreams* (Text D) in which two-third of the references focused on the Indochinese. One text contained no references to Filipino Americans; two texts did not mention the Asian Indians; and three of them did not include Korean Americans.

Visual references to Asian Americans ranged from 1.1 percent to 3 percent in the various texts (see Table 3 in Appendix C). Photographs, illustrations, and various graphical information were included in the tabulation.

The results paralleled findings gathered for textual references. Visual material depicting Chinese and Japanese Americans comprised 50 percent to 90 percent of the graphical representations; however, there were no visual references to Asian Indians, Filipinos, or Koreans in seven of the books.

Historical Events

Historical events that were mentioned in all nine texts included the following: Chinese participation in the California gold rush and construction of the transcontinental railroad in the 1880s, passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Japanese American internment during World War II, the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, and the arrival of the Indochinese refugees in the 1970s and 1980s (see Table 4 in Appendix D).

Of these events, the Japanese American internment received the most coverage. While the authors universally condemned the internment episode, one text (*America: People and Dreams*, Text D) failed to mention the 1988 redress legislation that provided reparation to each surviving internee in the amount of $20,00 and a letter of apology from the U. S. government. The depth of coverage also varied among texts. For example, in *American Pageant* (Text C), the internment episode was summarized in five sentences that described the event as robbing the Japanese Americans of their dignity and material property. In *U. S. and Its People* (Text B), however, the experience was detailed through an excerpt from Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's autobiography, *Farewell to Manzanar*, which provided a personalized, insider's view of the imprisonment and its effects on the internees.

The investigator also discovered a variance in treatment of two other topics: the early Japanese immigration and the Indochinese refugee experience. In describing the Japanese immigration from the 1880s through early 1900s, *American Voices* (Text G) was the only text that elaborated on the picture bride system and the disillusionment of the young women who often found that their prospective husbands had substituted photographs of younger men and lied about their wealth.

The most in-depth treatment of the second wave of the Indochinese resettlement in the U. S. was provided in *America: People and Dreams*

(Text D) where refugees, through personal narratives, described the events in Vietnam that led to their flight and the difficult adjustment they faced in terms of employment, language, and culture in the U. S.

Inaccuracies were also noted in two texts. In *America Past and Present* (Text A), the Chinese were described as possessing a "willingness to work hard for low wages" (p. 674). This statement ignored the fact that Chinese workers faced little choice but to accept the unequal payment, often working for less than white laborers in mines, factories, and fields.

Regarding the impact of the Japanese attack on Hawaii, another text (*Americans*, Text I) ambiguously stated that "strangely enough, the Japanese Americans living in Hawaii, which contained military installations, were left alone" (p. 742). In reality, over 1,400 Hawaiian Japanese were interned as potential threats to military security. The reason why more Japanese Americans were not interned was hardly strange or mysterious. As Takaki (1995) points out, while Asians on the mainland U. S. were seen as foreigners in a mostly white society, the Japanese in Hawaii were perceived as "locals" (p. 69). They also made up 37 percent of the territory's population, which made them essential to the economy. In short, a mass internment of Hawaii Japanese would have been disastrous to the sugar cane and pineapple industries as well as the general business community.

Finally, problems of omission were noted in all the texts. A number of critical events and statistical data mentioned in other chronologies for high school students (Baron & Gall, 1996; Takaki, 1996) were absent from these books. For example, although eight of the nine textbooks lauded the bravery of the Japanese American soldiers serving in the 100th Infantry/442nd Battalion during World War II, only one of them pointed out the participation of Filipino

American soldiers and none of them discussed the involvement of Chinese, Korean, and Asian Indian Americans in the war effort.

All texts referred to the economic and academic successes of Asian Americans; however, this model minority emphasis diverted attention from the inequities that many of them still experience. While the texts portrayed Asian groups as faring well compared to white ethnic groups in terms of median family incomes, they ignored the fact that most Asian ethnic groups also had more workers per family than whites (Min, 1995). In addition, they failed to report on the higher proportions of Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese American families, as opposed to white American families, at the poverty level. Also absent from the textbooks was mention of the economic "glass ceiling" (Min, 1995) experienced by many Asian American workers who have received lower economic rewards comparable to their education and who have been bypassed by white colleagues for important administrative, executive, and managerial positions in corporate and public sectors.

Personalities

A total of 40 individuals were mentioned in the nine texts (see Table 5a in Appendix E). The actual number of Asian American personalities identified in the various texts ranged from two to thirteen individuals with Chinese and Japanese Americans being the most frequently cited Asian groups.

Individuals were most often acknowledged for their achievements in the fields of literature (32.5 percent), fine arts (12.5 percent), and government (12.5 percent). The most popular personality appearing in seven of the nine texts was Maya Lin, a Chinese American architect who designed the Vietnam Memorial. Contemporary rather than historical figures were emphasized in all the texts; 29 of the 40 individuals cited (72.5 percent) are still actively contributing in their respective fields (see Table 5b in Appendix F). Author Jessica Hagedorn was the

lone Filipino American acknowledged in one text and no Korean American was included in any of the books.

Multicultural Concepts

The multicultural concepts most frequently reflected across texts were prejudice and racism, movement, culture, and assimilation (see Table 6 in Appendix G). Prejudice and racism appeared in references to the Japanese-American internment during World War II, the discriminatory legislation against the Chinese miners and railroad workers in the 1800s, the proposal for segregating Japanese and Chinese from white students in San Francisco schools in the early 1900s, and various anti-Asian labor activities and legal miscegenation restrictions prohibiting marriages between Asians and whites throughout the past two hundred years.

The concept of movement was reflected in descriptions of the immigration and settlement patterns of various Asian waves from the 1840s to the present day. Several texts differentiated sojourners (early Chinese and Filipinos) and immigrants (Japanese families) from refugees (Indochinese) in terms of their initial reasons for coming to the U. S. and their social and economic goals. They also described the differences among waves of Asian newcomers following the elimination of the immigration quota system in 1965.

References to culture focused largely on the various Asian enclaves (e.g., Chinatowns, Little Saigons) that developed as a result of discriminatory practices against Asians in the U. S. and racial hostilities they faced in the larger white-dominated society. The texts described these communities as centers of intellectual and social life for Asian immigrants who sought to make a living and maintain their cultural identities.

The concept of assimilation--the full socialization of individuals into the norms of the mainstream society--was most evident in profiles of Asians who

had overcome language and cultural barriers to succeed in business, military, and academic careers. These appeared as inserts in various texts ranging in length from half-page to two-pages.

Among the least emphasized concepts were power, social protest, and communication. In terms of power, five texts contained references of one to four sentences on Asian leadership in labor movements organized to contest the inequality of wages and working conditions. Evidences of social protest were cited in five texts. Most of these references alluded to the Fred Korematsu case, which tested the constitutionality of the military relocation orders of Japanese Americans during World War II.

The only discussion of communication in one text (*American Voices*, Text G) centered on the 1992 Los Angeles race riots, which resulted in the burning and looting of Korean businesses by black and Hispanic rioters. The text writers described the social and economic contexts influencing the riots and discussed the problems brought on by differences in verbal and nonverbal communication from a cultural perspective. For example, Koreans view smiling at strangers as an act of insincerity. Although this demeanor, or absence of a demeanor (called *mu-pyo-jung*), is an essential characteristic of Korean etiquette, other ethnic groups often perceive this behavior as unfriendly and threatening.

Passive/Active Depictions

Asian Americans were depicted as passive rather than active agents in all the texts (see Table 7 in Appendix H). Several examples elucidate this conclusion.

The early Chinese workers, who were primarily described as diligent and adaptive workers, were also presented as uncomplaining and eager railroad construction laborers who risked their lives in performing some of the most dangerous tasks (e.g., being lowered in wicker baskets to set explosives). None of the texts, however, mentioned the strike organized by the Chinese railroad

workers in 1867 protesting their inhumane working conditions. Their effort failed only after they were imprisoned and starved in their camps in the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

In a similar vein, the Japanese Americans were depicted as victims of the internment who proved their loyalty through their exemplary behavior in the camps and their heroism on the battlefield. The texts conceded that the internment was harsh and unfair given there were never any proof of disloyalty. Internees quoted in many of the texts, however, expressed the opinion that the wartime imprisonment was justified. The overall impression rendered by the textbook accounts, therefore, was one of Japanese American acceptance of the internment. Little mention was made of the riots, petitions, and strikes they organized in camps such as Tule Lake, Topaz, and Manzanar. There was also scant reference to the role played by third generation Japanese Americans in bringing about the redress legislation forty years after the internment.

Finally, while every text cited how industrious Asian Americans have successfully assimilated into the mainstream culture (i.e., the model minority image), none singled out their recent efforts to organize for greater visibility and voice through such groups as the Asian American Political Alliance and the Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans. The catalytic role of leaders who want to give "authentic voice to microcultures in the expanded community" (Baber, 1995, p. 342) was missing from these texts.

Implications and Conclusion

The large influx of Asian and Latin American immigrant groups in the last two decades has fueled a renewed interest in the coverage and treatment of these people of color in instructional resources used in our schools.

The present study indicated variations among textbooks in the thoroughness and specificity of their treatment of Asian American groups.

Although the texts included historical data and facts within a chronological framework, they tended to omit crucial concepts, relationships, and details. In several instances, the study also found inaccuracies and biased references to specific topics and events. It was especially disturbing to note the absence of Korean, Filipino, and Asian Indian Americans in many of the textbooks examined since they are among the fastest growing segments of the Asian population in the U. S. The overall treatment tended to portray Asian Americans as victims of racist immigration policies and discriminatory practices.

Knowing that the Asian American experience has been inadequately treated in high school texts and recognizing its importance in a multicultural curriculum, teachers must consider alternatives. To expect that textbooks will ever be able to fill all the demands thrust upon them is unrealistic. In recent years, concerned educators have built a strong case for supplementing and even supplanting textbooks with tradebooks in the classroom to foster cultural and personal pride within students and promote greater cultural awareness and understanding among students from diverse backgrounds (Koeller, 1996; Norton, 1990). Paxton and others have urged that young students be introduced to a spectrum of primary documents that "run the gamut from the authorless [e.g., censuses, tax records, business ledgers] to the highly visible [e.g., diaries, personal letters]" (Paxton, 1999, p. 332).

The present study identified several areas where additional resources are urgently needed, including coverage of groups such as the Filipino, Korean, and Asian Indian Americans; in-depth analyses of historical events and contemporary issues relating to all Asian Americans; and primary accounts that represent the insider's perspective. Resources should also extend beyond the physical walls of the school as more campuses gain online access to a global network of information.

Because textbooks are imperfect educational tools, students using them must also be encouraged to question the impressions and information embedded in them. This necessitates structuring classroom instruction to guide students in critically examining their perceptions of the world. As Romanowski (1996) indicates, "history classes must begin to use strategies that identify and challenge biases found in textbooks" (p. 172). The changing demographic and cultural complexion of the nation demands new interpretations of history and human values that "better align school experiences with social ideals and realities" (Pang, Gay, & Stanley, 1995, p. 319).

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Appendix A

Table 1
U.S. History Textbooks Used in Study

Textbooks	Publication Dates	Publishers
America Is	1995	Glencoe
America Past and Present	1995	HarperCollins
America: People and Dreams	1994	Scott, Foresman
American Nation	1995	Holt, Rinehart & Winston
American Pageant	1994	Heath
American Voices	1995	Scott, Foresman
Americans	1996	McDougal Littell
History of U. S.	1995	Houghton Mifflin
U. S. and Its People	1995	Addison-Wesley

Appendix B

Table 2
Number of Sentences Referring to Asian American Groups in Nine U. S. History Texts

Asian Groups	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Asian Indian	1	0	0	1	5	2	16	9	1
Chinese	28	73	53	21	170	25	175	38	57
Filipino	2	3	22	0	4	7	9	11	1
Indochinese	3	15	24	120	6	1	34	16	18
Japanese	30	126	47	31	58	48	128	43	45
Korean	3	0	0	0	2	1	42	2	2
Asian-general	39	31	16	7	15	13	47	23	37
Total Asian/ total text	106/ 18,965	248/ 21,035	162/ 19,460	180/ 20,167	260/ 22,520	97/ 15,717	435/ 20,677	202/ 15,469	161/ 24,013
Percentage of total Asian/ total text	.56%	1.2%	.83%	.89%	1.2%	.62%	2.1%	1.3%	.67%

* Textbook key:
A = America Past and Present
B = U. S. and Its People
C = American Pageant
D = America: People and Dreams
E = History of the U. S.
F = America Is
G = American Voices
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Appendix C

Table 3
Number of Visuals Depicting Asian American Groups in Nine U. S. History Texts

Asian Groups	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Asian Indian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Chinese	1	7	7	0	6	5	7	7	5
Filipino	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
Indochinese	0	1	3	3	2	0	1	0	0
Japanese	1	12	8	3	5	3	11	7	4
Korean	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Asian-general	8	7	2	4	8	5	4	14	1
Total Asian/ total text	10/ 754	27/ 1303	25/ 1043	10/ 760	22/ 740	13/ 1041	25/ 1196	29/ 1044	10/ 940
Percentage of total Asian/ total text	1.3%	2.1%	2.4%	1.3%	3%	1.2%	2.1%	2.8%	1.1%

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Appendix D

Table 4
Number of Sentences Describing Historical Events Involving Asian Americans

Historical Events	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1849 Chinese/Gold Rush begins	7	8	13	5	2	6	52	8	2
1865 Chinese/Railroad construction begins	4	3	1	3	7	1	8	1	21
1882 Chinese Exclusion Act passed	4	3	7	3	5	5	4	1	4
1886 Major Japanese immigration begins	6	4	21	0	3	4	29	2	8
1902 Major Korean immigration begins	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0
1906 Major Filipino immigration begins	0	0	10	0	3	4	9	9	1
1906 San Francisco/school segregation proposed	2	3	2	0	2	2	0	0	1
1907 Major Asian Indian immigration begins	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	7	0
1908 Gentleman's Agreement enacted with Japan	3	1	5	0	2	1	0	0	4
1913 Webb Act passed	1	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	3
1924 National Origins Quota Act passed	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	4
1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act passed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Appendix D (cont.)

Table 4 (cont.)
Number of Sentences Describing Historical Events Involving Asian Americans

Historical Events	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1942 Japanese American internment begins	14	84	5	14	33	31	33	25	16
1942 100th/442nd Battalion formed	3	6	0	2	5	3	17	7	6
1944 Korematsu v. U.S. case tried	0	7	1	0	0	2	4	0	2
1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act passed	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	0	0
1965 Immigration Reform Act passed	19	4	6	5	1	6	8	7	16
1979 Indochinese - first wave begins	0	4	14	0	3	5	39	14	5
1980s Indochinese - second wave begins	3	4	8	105	4	1	4	2	10
1980s Amerasians admitted	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1988 American Civil Liberties Act passed	5	3	1	0	3	2	7	1	2
1992 Los Angeles riots occurred	1	0	1	0	0	0	43	1	1

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Appendix E

Table 5a
Number of Asian American Personalities
Categorized By Asian Groups

Asian Groups	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Asian Indian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0
Chinese	1	5	4	1	4	1	6	5	1
Filipino	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Japanese	2	4	2	1	4	1	4	3	3
Korean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southeast Asian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0

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Appendix F

Table 5b
Asian American Personalities Identified
By Texts, Asian Groups, and Achievements

Personalities	Texts*	Asian Groups	Achievements
Nien Chang	G	Chinese	Literature
Lee Chew	B	Chinese	Literature
Hiram Fong	H	Chinese	Government
Jessica Hagedorn	H	Filipino	Literature
Le Ly Haslip	H	Indochinese	Literature
S. I. Hayakawa	E	Japanese	Government
Bill Hosokawa	G	Japanese	Literature
Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston	B	Japanese	Literature
David Hwang	C	Chinese	Fine arts
Daniel Inouye	D, G, H	Japanese	Government
Gish Jen	H	Chinese	Literature
Maxine Hong Kingston	B, C	Chinese	Literature
Fred Korematsu	B, C, F, G, I	Japanese	Social activism
Amy Lan	B	Chinese	Fine arts
Maya Lin	B, C, D, E, G, H, I	Chinese	Architecture
Bette Bao Lord	H	Chinese	Literature
Yoyo Ma	B	Chinese	Fine arts
Mike Masaoka	B	Japanese	Social activism
Spark Matsunaga	E	Japanese	Government
Ved Mehta	E	Asian Indian	Literature
Norman Mineta	H	Japanese	Government
Toshio Mori	H	Japanese	Literature
Lalu Nathoy	E, G	Chinese	Pioneer
Hideo Noguchi	E	Japanese	Science
Ellison Onizuka	I	Japanese	Science
Seiji Ozawa	A	Japanese	Fine arts
I. M. Pei	A, C, G	Chinese	Architecture
Wei-Chi Poon	H	Chinese	Science
Dith Pran	E	Indochinese	Journalism
Ravi Shankar	H	Asian Indian	Fine arts
George Shima	C	Japanese	Business
Ronald Takaki	A, G	Japanese	Education
Don Tamaki	I	Japanese	Law
Amy Tan	C, E, G	Chinese	Literature
Iva Toguri	E	Japanese	Social activism
Andrew Verghese	H	Asian Indian	Medicine
Nguyen Thi Vinh	H	Indochinese	Literature
An Wang	E	Chinese	Business
Chien Shiung Wu	F	Chinese	Science
Bruce Yamashita	B	Japanese	Social activism

Appendix F (cont.)

* Textbook key:

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C = American Pageant	F = America Is	I = Americans

Appendix F

Table 5b
Asian American Personalities Identified
By Texts, Asian Groups, and Achievements

Personalities	Texts*	Asian Groups	Achievements
Nien Chang	G	Chinese	Literature
Lee Chew	B	Chinese	Literature
Hiram Fong	H	Chinese	Government
Jessica Hagedorn	H	Filipino	Literature
Le Ly Haslip	H	Indochinese	Literature
S. I. Hayakawa	E	Japanese	Government
Bill Hosokawa	G	Japanese	Literature
Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston	B	Japanese	Literature
David Hwang	C	Chinese	Fine arts
Daniel Inouye	D, G, H	Japanese	Government
Gish Jen	H	Chinese	Literature
Maxine Hong Kingston	B, C	Chinese	Literature
Fred Korematsu	B, C, F, G, I	Japanese	Social activism
Amy Lan	B	Chinese	Fine arts
Maya Lin	B, C, D, E, G, H, I	Chinese	Architecture
Bette Bao Lord	H	Chinese	Literature
Yoyo Ma	B	Chinese	Fine arts
Mike Masaoka	B	Japanese	Social activism
Spark Matsunaga	E	Japanese	Government
Ved Mehta	E	Asian Indian	Literature
Norman Mineta	H	Japanese	Government
Toshio Mori	H	Japanese	Literature
Lalu Nathoy	E, G	Chinese	Pioneer
Hideo Noguchi	E	Japanese	Science
Ellison Onizuka	I	Japanese	Science
Seiji Ozawa	A	Japanese	Fine arts
I. M. Pei	A, C, G	Chinese	Architecture
Wei-Chi Poon	H	Chinese	Science
Dith Pran	E	Indochinese	Journalism
Ravi Shankar	H	Asian Indian	Fine arts
George Shima	C	Japanese	Business
Ronald Takaki	A, G	Japanese	Education
Don Tamaki	I	Japanese	Law
Amy Tan	C, E, G	Chinese	Literature
Iva Toguri	E	Japanese	Social activism
Andrew Verghese	H	Asian Indian	Medicine
Nguyen Thi Vinh	H	Indochinese	Literature
An Wang	E	Chinese	Business
Chien Shiung Wu	F	Chinese	Science
Bruce Yamashita	B	Japanese	Social activism

Appendix F (cont.)

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Appendix G

Table 6
Number of Sentences Containing Asian American References Related to Multicultural Concepts

Multicultural Concepts	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Culture	15	38	54	7	22	1	81	24	22
Acculturation	4	8	2	3	37	1	8	5	5
Assimilation	2	25	9	11	70	16	96	23	24
Prejudice/racism	42	127	47	38	50	50	73	38	78
Ethnocentrism	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Values	4	4	5	13	23	0	64	9	1
Communication	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
Power	0	4	0	0	4	0	3	2	1
Social protest	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
Movement	34	34	39	98	42	24	97	33	23

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Appendix H

Table 7
Number of Sentences Depicting Asian Americans
As Passive or Active Agents

Depictions	Texts* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Asian Americans as passive									
Prejudice/racism	42	127	47	38	50	50	73	38	78
Assimilation	2	25	9	11	70	16	96	23	24
Totals	44	152	56	49	120	66	169	61	102
Asian Americans as active									
Acculturation	4	8	2	3	37	1	8	5	5
Ethnocentrism	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Power	0	4	0	0	4	0	3	2	1
Social protest	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
Totals	5	14	3	3	42	1	13	9	6

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